

[P. 96]

- 103 4. telwe'yit: a Tachi village
5. ugonə
131 6. hono tan (to stop suddenly): a Nutunutu village
7. čī yī (bones): probably Kroeber's Chiau, a Nutunutu village
8. galwa šiu: a Tachi village
9. wai u
10. u'gjiu
11. go lon
12. čī
13. yī meł
14. waita čuiyui
15. pi sras (Pierce's Ranch?): a modern rancheria
16. č'iu' ta
17. wič'tsol'wān: a Wowol island village
18. wa'lna
19. yiwo mni: a Wowol village
20. sukwu' tnu: a Wowol village²⁶

Two places not definitely located were:
21. wo'kon; 22. mīke'yit, a "bottomless" pond near the present city of Tulare.

Warfare

578 According to J.A., who says she derived much of her knowledge from an old Wowol woman now dead, the Chunut and Wowol were particularly friendly and both were on bad terms with two allies to their north, the Tachi and Nutunutu. [20] Signal fires were built on occasion, and warnings and arrangements for battle were made.

[727] Doctors were particularly sought out as victims in a battle, and vengeance was wreaked by flaying and impaling their corpses. Head-taking was practised as well as flaying.

701 There was no war chief, nor did an ordinary chief take any special part in battles, 624 though the account secured by Newman (see below) indicates the contrary. Any brave man, particularly one with Raven (ho'toi) as a supernatural helper, would lead war expeditions. Rarely 726 were more than two or three persons killed.

726 J.A. thinks the bodies remained unburied (which [727] seems unlikely unless the losers were completely routed). She disclaims knowledge of motives for war.

That battles were frequently prearranged is clear from J.A.'s statement, Newman's account, and the account of a battle between the Pitanisha and Altinin.²⁷ This does not preclude a sudden flare-up such as that described by J.A. when two doctors found themselves unwelcome among the Nutunutu. A certain cautiousness or predisposition to fight is suggested in two Yauelmani tales, wherein a mere shout in

²⁶Possibly the Wowol village called "Dubal" by early Spanish explorers (Gayton, Estudillo, 70 ff.); some further information on Southern Valley sites is contained in Wedel's Archaeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake (particularly pp. 12-17).

²⁷Kroeber, The Yokuts Language, 274.

[P. 10a]

- 726 the distance is regarded as an invitation to battle.²⁸ A narrative of a famous fight, recorded by Dr. Stanley Newman, has been contributed to this record. Lemondo, one of the leaders, was known to the Chunut informant, J.A.

Lemondo and Tabaa²⁹

- 726 They knew that they would fight. The Yaud-
202 anchi sent a man, who said that they would
539 fight in a certain number of days. The [Southern] messenger (ho'ye'lis), sent by the Bankalachi, Koyeti, and Tinlinin, asked him how many [Northern] tribes were allied. He was told that there were three, the Chunut, Choinok, and Wukhamni, and that they would fight in seven days. On being questioned, the [Northern] messenger asserted that he was sure of this, for the leaders had decided upon the time. The [Southern] messenger then said that the Bankalachi, Koyeti, and Tinlinin were not ready yet, but that they would send their own messengers [to get an intertribal agreement upon the time?]

[After the Southern messenger had returned and made inquiries, the [Bankalachi] leaders told him that it would take them five days to complete their preparations. The next morning they sent him to Tinliw, saying that he should return in five days, for at that time they wanted to know when the [Tinlinin] could come. The [Southern] messenger then went to Tinliw, where the people were numerous, and told their leader, Lemondo, that he had been sent. Lemondo ordered his workers (ts'o'wihni') to assemble the people. He asked the [Southern] messenger whether his news was good or bad and was told that it was bad. His messengers ran swiftly.

One of them went to the Tejon people. On approaching, he shouted and the people gathered immediately. Their leader told them that the news was probably bad, that they had better get their bows and prepare themselves. By the time the messenger [of Lemondo] arrived, they were ready. He told them that the leader [Lemondo] wanted the people to come to his house immediately; they were to listen to one who had come from far off. The people were advised by their messenger to get their bows and their necklace charms [talismans]. Some of them got grizzly-claw necklaces, others got falcon-head necklaces, and still others got eagle-head necklaces.

When they reached the leader's [Lemondo's] place, one of their leaders took them where many people were assembled. There the [Southern] messenger was asked for his news. He reported that the Bankalachi leader wanted the people, for a battle was to take place. On being asked what tribes were angry, he answered that they were Northerners--the Chunut, Choinok, and Wukhamni. At this some of the people asserted that the Northerners were a useless lot, that the Southerners would give them a

[576] ²⁸Gayton and Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths, 87, 88, abstract 11, note 1. Nevertheless, to approach a village or isolated house without calling out was ill-mannered and regarded with suspicion.

²⁹Recorded in Yaudanchi dialect by Stanley S. Newman from Frank Samuel, Bankalachi.

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726 good clubbing. In reply to further questions,
202 the [Southern] messenger told them that his
539 leader wanted the people in five days, for the
[Northern] messenger would return in five days
and again in seven days. Some of the warriors
were very happy; they promised that the people
would arrive at the proposed time.

The [Southern] messenger returned to his
leader and reported that he had been successful
in persuading the [Tinlinin] people to come in
five days. [After five days] the people
arrived at the leader's house. The warriors
immediately began inquiring who their opponents
were and when the fight was to take place. They
were told that the Northerners were their
opponents and that the seventh day had been
chosen for the battle.

The Northern messenger also arrived on the
fifth day. He reported that he did not have
much news: his people would come to fight on
the seventh day. The [Bankalachi] leader said
that his people were ready and asked where the
tribes would meet. He was told that the place
was Chiteetknawahsiw (titi-tiknawa-siw,
literally "sliding-place, place where one makes
oneself slide"; according to my informant, this
place is situated near Deer Creek).

[411] The day of their departure arrived. The
[Southern] people went to Gayliw (gayliw, liter-
ally "waiting-place, meeting-place," identified
as "Lookout Mountain" by my informant), from
where they could see other people coming. They
then descended to the plains and fought there.
They used only arrows and obsidian (tha-sib),
with which they pierced each other. Half of
the Northerners were wiped out, and some of
them ran away. Some of the Bankalachi were
killed too. Some of those who had run away
went far to the west and reported to the Tachi.
A Chunut messenger told the Tachi that the
Northerners had been wiped out by the Southern-
ers.

The Tachi leader immediately sent his
messenger to Tabaa. After receiving Tabaa's
greetings, the [Tachi] messenger told him that,
according to reports, the Wukchamni had been
wiped out by the Southerners. Tabaa assured
the messenger that he would leave with his
people in two days. After the two days had
elapsed, Tabaa went to the Tachi. He asked the
Chunut messenger, who was still there, what had
happened. The messenger told him that his
people had fought and had been badly beaten.
Tabaa then hurried him off to gather whatever
Chunut warriors remained and to bring them back
immediately. The messenger returned home and
told the warriors that their allies were speed-
ing preparations to fight the next day. The
Chunut joined Tabaa, who again asked for infor-
mation about their battle with the Southerners.
They told him that half of their people had
been killed. Tabaa decided that they had
better fight the following day. The Chunut
messenger offered to carry the news to their
enemies, for he knew where they were. Tabaa
told him to go immediately.

The [Chunut] messenger journeyed all night,
and the next morning he reached the enemies'
camp, where he was greeted. He told them that
the Tachi had joined his people and asked if
they knew of Tabaa; they replied that they did
know of him. It was agreed that they would
fight the next day in the plains. The messen-

[P. 11a]

726 ger then returned to the Tachi and informed
202 them of the arrangements that had been made for
539 the battle. Tabasa was pleased.

The next morning they left and met their
enemies at the appointed place. They fought
for a long time, shooting at each other and
dodging. Some of them ran away. Tabasa and
Xenilal grappled with one another for a long
time. But Tabasa became exhausted, for Xenilal
was a very large man. Finally Tabasa got away
and spoke from a distance. Neither of them had
any more arrows; they worked on each other with
necklace charms.

728 At last Tabasa said that they had better
539 quit fighting, now that all of their comrades
had run away. Xenilal agreed. In reply to
Xenilal's question, Tabasa promised that he
would never fight again. The Tachi had been
severely beaten. Then Tabasa and Xenilal con-
ferred; they were friends now. Tabasa told
Xenilal that he thought they should not fight
with each other but should live peacefully
(*'inestam*, literally "in a good manner"). This
leader seemed to be a remarkable man. He said
that soon he would arrange to have the Northern-
ers and Southerners assemble, so that they
could see each other peacefully. This remarka-
ble man was going to make a feast in seven days.
He went on to say that Xenilal and his people
need be afraid of nothing, that they should
bring their comrades and wives. Xenilal asked
when the feast would be held and was told that
it would probably take place in seven days. The
final greetings were exchanged, Tabasa repeated
his hope that they fight no more but live in
peace, and the two leaders departed for home.

The people had missed them; they thought
that their leaders had killed each other. When
Tabasa arrived among the Tachi, his comrades
were still there. They expressed their sur-
prise at seeing him, saying that they had
thought he was dead. He assured them that he
had not been killed, though Xenilal was a very
powerful (*'ipni'*) man. He then asked the
people to assemble at his home and added that
it would be best for them not to fight again.
The Tachi people agreed. On being questioned
about the date of the feast, he said that he
would start preparations immediately on his
arrival home.

After he had returned to his home, Tabasa
announced that the feast would take place in
seven days. He warned the people not to "talk
about anything" when the Southerners and the
Chunut arrived. Then Tabasa sent his crier
(*wina-tum*) south to carry the report to all the
Tinlinin, Bankalachi, and Koyeti. The crier
invited these people to the feast and assured
them that there would be no more fighting.

202 The people went to the feast; all the
574 Tinlinin and Bankalachi came there. As soon
728 as they arrived, they were stopped and present-
539 ed with bead (*liina'*) money. This is Indian
money. They feasted heavily, eating fish and
many ducks and wild geese. At the end of the
feast the Southerners were again given bead
money. Then Tabasa spoke. He said that he did
not think it good for them to fight; he thought
it better that they should see each other peace-
fully, just as they were doing now. Then he
told them all to return to their homes and to
live peacefully.

[P. 1459] Choinimni

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from the spring floods which would carry them over impeding sand bars. About ten days were required for the trip. Accompanying hunters sometimes traveled afoot all day and joined the group on the barges wherever they were moored for the night. While at the lake, the foothill people engaged in fishing, bird snaring, rabbit drives, and so on, and doubtless traded their native products for local ones.⁴

P.D.W. had heard of but one "war," in which "all the Indians gathered at a flat near Centerville and then ran up back of Pine Ridge." No more coherent statement could be got: it suggests an occurrence under white pressure, perhaps in connection with the Ghost Dance.⁵

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In referring to neighboring people, directional terms were generally applied when one did not wish to make reference to a specific tribe. Thus the Gashowu, Kechayi, Dumna to the north were called hošo'm. The Michahai, Chukaimina, and even Wukchumni were homti'nin, southerners. The term wa'kli'u was applied to the Toihicha and Wechihit on the west. The Wobonuch and Entimbich to the east were spoken of as not. Collectively all Western Mono groups were referred to as nuta'wi or nutsa'wi (easterners, uplanders), just as were other mountaineers to the south, Tūbatulabal (Pitanisha) by Paleuyami, Koyeti, etc.

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Directions were spoken of spontaneously by P.D.W. and given unhesitatingly in the following order: hošo'mo (north); homtin:n (south); wakli'u (west, possibly downstream); not (east, mountainwards); ti'p:n (up); at'i (down).

Localities

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Local Map D shows the following Choinimni and Wobonuch sites.

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Choinimni sites:

1. kipa'yu: west terminus of Choinimni territory; Centerville
2. hoha'itao: valley east of Piedra
3. h:ha'ayu: cemetery for no. 4
4. tihe'eu: meaning "fish going up"; a fishing camp
5. wohoi'nu: campsite
6. kulusa'o: an old large village
7. wasa'mao: a village
8. yegwo'nyu: a village
9. lolo'ndu: a village
10. mučeto'o: a camp
11. wiše'lao: west terminus of Entimbich territory where they came for fish
12. wo'a'ityu: northeastern terminus of Michahai territory
13. apa w:š: Trimmer Springs; west terminus of Wobonuch territory called by them wasa'mu

⁴Ibid., 29, 30.

⁵Perhaps earlier, 1851, at the time of the Marignea Battalion's forays.

LP.154 a] DUMNA

251 Of interest to our current ethnography is
175 Bunnell's estimate of stored foods encountered at or near villages. I believe the quantities he mentions can be taken as typical for the entire east side of the San Joaquin Valley. These were seen in March, 1851.

251 In the Yosemite Valley (Southern Sierra
262 Miwok) the caches in native granaries included
175 principally acorns, also nuts of bay (California laurel), piñon pine, chinquapin, grass seeds, parched wild rye or oats, dried worms, scorched grasshoppers, and dried larvae of insects gathered from the waters of lakes "in and east of the Sierra Nevada." There were indications that dogs were eaten at feasts. "The acorns found were alone estimated at from four hundred to six hundred bushels." This was at one camp; numerous other caches were found. When José Rey's "Chowchilla" village was found on the upper San Joaquin River, nothing of value was left but the stores of acorns near by.

In exploring the region north of the San Joaquin River toward Black Ridge they came upon more stores.

There were in the country we passed over some beautiful mountain meadows and most luxuriant forests, and some of the sloping tablelands looked like ornamental parks of an extensive domain. These oak-clad tables and ridges were the harvest fields of the San Joaquin Indians, and in their vicinity we found an occasional group of deserted huts. These, with their adjacent supplies of acorns, were at once given to the flames. The acorns found and destroyed by the scouting parties here and on the South Fork were variously estimated at from eight hundred to one thousand bushels; beside the supply of Piñon pine nuts and other supplies hoarded for future use.

From the total amount of acorns estimated to have been destroyed, their supplies were comparatively small, or the number of Indians on the San Joaquin had been, as in other localities, vastly overrated.³¹

701 A few remarks are made on numbers of men.
726 In the first engagement on a high peak up the
175 Fresno River in January, 1851, the tribes represented were "the Chow-chilla, Chook-chan-cie, Noot-chu, Ho-nak-chee, Po-to-en-cie, Po-ho-no-chee, Kaweah and Yosemite." The number of fighting men or warriors was estimated at about five hundred. Later on "a body of Indians, numbering about two hundred" was seen on a distant mountain about to join the previous group.³²

A participant in the same battle wrote:

"He [Major Savage] found it was a town of the Kee-chees [the village on Battle Mountain], but that there were about one hundred and fifty

³¹Ibid., 134.

³²Ibid., 21.

[P. 154 b] DUMNA

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726 of the Chow-chil-la warriors with them and several of the Chuk-chan-cies... Never did I hear before such an infernal howling, whooping, and yelling, as saluted us then from the throats of about six hundred savages..." This group of Indians included a total of 400 warriors "as near as could be ascertained."³³

726
175 War behavior and tactics are mentioned. Besides the yelling and howling, which may have been intended to terrify the enemy, the native warriors indulged in derisive shouting, obscene gestures, and eruptions, when they sighted their white pursuers.³⁴ In direct encounter between the Indians and American troops, the natives continued their traditional method of battle, in which a single warrior stood forth to fight another. This resulted disastrously, of course, as the whites neither understood the intention nor would have sent out a man to fight under such circumstances.

"To kill him [Major Savage], many of them sacrificed their own lives. They would come out one at a time and, standing in open ground, send arrows across at him until shot down; one old chief who used to cook for Savage, would ask him after every shot where he had hit him. They would talk to him to try to find out where he was, and as soon as he would answer, the balls and arrows would fly thick around his head."³⁵

[726] At this battle an old squaw who was wounded seized a bow and lodged three arrows in a soldier: normally, women and children were sent to hidden safety.

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175 Signal fires were used, as well as other signs of communication.

By a peculiar arrangement of these fires during the night, and by smoke from them during the day, they are able to telegraph a system of secret correspondence to those on the lookout. An arrow shot into the body of a tree at a camp ground, or along a trail; or the conspicuous arrangement of a bent bush or twigs, often shows the direction traveled. A bunch of grass tied to a stick and left at the fork of a stream or trail, or at a deserted camp performs the same service. Upon the treeless deserts or plains, a mark upon the ground, by camp or trail, gave the required information; thus proving these people possess considerable intelligent forethought.³⁶

³³Ibid., 31, 32.

³⁴Ibid., 14-15, 127, 143. Garcés thought himself acclaimed when, on White River, natives there "gave themselves smart slaps with the palms on the thighs," and shouted "Ba! Ba! Ba! Ba!"; undoubtedly "Ba!" (go!) as there was one who spoke Spanish among them (Couse, On the Trail, 267).

³⁵Dunnell, 33. See the battle between Lemonda and Tabaa (Pt. I, pp. 10-11), and also the running conversation in mythical battles (Gayton and Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths, 3, 85, 89).

³⁶Dunnell, 125.

[P. 160 a] Kechuyi

726 Now some Monachi [Eastern Mono] had come
over the mountains: their chief had told them
648 to "go over and kill those people like birds."
252 While the Yokuts men were away, the Monachi
surrounded the women's camp. One man came
closer to spy. He saw the women cracking the
acorns with their teeth and thought they were
eating. He went back and reported this. Sever-
al times he came close to spy and each time saw
the women putting the nuts to their mouths: he
"thought they just ate all day long."

726 Next morning the Yokuts men went out very
early to knock down more acorns. They found a
648 series of stakes, with feather bunches (so.n.l)
tied to their tops, which had been set up by
the Monachi.⁴⁸ They knew the Monachi were near
by, so they returned to camp and sent the women
off. The women fled across the river [San
Joaquin], leaving everything behind. The men
went in pursuit of the Monachi. Their camp was
located, and the Monachi were found asleep.
Rushing in, the Yokuts killed all of them, save
one man who smeared himself with his comrades'
blood and pretended he was dead. Later on this
man went back to his village and reported
events to his chief. The chief was very angry;
he determined on revenge.

Soon after that a Yokuts was working for a
white man and was sent up into the mountains
with some hogs. Some Monachi lurking about on
this side of the ridge saw him; they came down
to him and asked him who he was. When it was
time for the Yokuts man to return to the valley,
his employer warned him not to make the trip
alone. But the man was anxious to get back
home and went anyway. The Monachi were am-
bushed along the way and killed the man and his
horse.

423 There was no mark of ownership on land or
trees or seed-areas, but a woman would verbally
designate certain trees or grass spots as hers
and would "growl" if some other woman took the
products therefrom ahead of her. Her com-
[578] plaints would be on the personal level, and
would not be taken to the chief under ordinary
[624] circumstances. Sometimes arguments between
women did grow into family feuds, which the
chief attempted to control by counsel. There
was a tacit, traditional ownership among fami-
lies, and in the larger sense among tribes, of
desirable land and its concomitant hunting,
fishing, and seed-gathering assets. The family
"ownership" operated to the extent that a young
married woman continued to gather vegetable
products with her own mother, rather than with
her mother-in-law. This was regardless of
[428] matrilineal or patrilineal residence, and surely
led to inheritance of such plots, even though
inheritance was not defined in set terms by
any Yokuts people.

619 It is clear from the account given above,
222 that people from several tribes might be camped

⁴⁸The exact nature of these E.M. could not define: they
may be such stakes as those the Tachi informant, M.G., had
in mind when she described boundary markers (see Tachi,
Pt. I).

[P. 196 b] Chuckchansi

592 There were three to five persons in a house, J.R. continued, depending entirely on the number and condition of the family members. An average home consisted of a man and wife and their children. If there was an adult dependent, such as a sister or older relative, they would provide a separate little house for her close by. A widow and her children, or a widower and his, might also comprise a discrete household.

221 M. lived here at Picayune in a native-type house when she was a little girl. People moved around as the seed crops needed harvesting. They left their houses, light as they were, at home and made temporary shelters whenever necessary for camping. There were bedrock mortars wherever they went, all around; most of these are filled in through disuse, now.

[412] When a family permanently left a house, for no objectionable reason, another family might move into it. People moved by families; whole villages did not move en masse.

[166]

Warfare

721 It was J.R.'s opinion that there was
648 little intertribal warfare in the Fresno River region.

The Indians did not fight each other unless drunk. The only way they killed other Indians was if a witch doctor killed lots of people: then they would kill this doctor.

A big bunch of Chuckchansi wouldn't go out and fight a bunch of Mono. Maybe they would kill one man at Northfork (Western Mono locality). This man maybe had not done right by some Indians there. Maybe some Indian from Coarse Gold (Chuckchansi) wouldn't like him. They would lie in wait for him along his way and shoot him from ambush. That is the only way they killed one another up here. A Chuckchansi would kill another Chuckchansi this same way.

• [726] J.R. thought that an abnormal infant, a monster, might be killed, but he regarded this as hearsay. A person who was mortally wounded was not put out of his agony: his relatives took care of him as best they could until he died.

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726 An account of an engagement and the ensuing negotiations between Indians of Fresno River and the encroaching whites refers to the same encounter described by the Duma, Bill Wilson, that of the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. At the time, J.R. was a baby in his basket; later his mother told him about it.⁶⁰

The last fight was down here about ten miles, on the Fresno River. It was a long way up from Raymond. The Indians from all around

⁶⁰J.R. probably had not yet been born.

[P. 177 a] Chuckchansi

726 here [Chuckchansi; Miwok and Mono too?] were fighting the white people. Some Indians were up on the mountainsides above the river. They got the whites down in the river canyon where they could roll rocks down on them. The whites could not see the Indians to shoot at them well, but they shot some anyway. The Indians got some whites who were running away. They brought some home, made Indians of them. (There was at least one such.) This white man would fight with the Indians on their side. He was adult when they captured him; he was a soldier. He fought with the Indians after that, they said, and fought like the Indians.

728 That was about the end of the fighting. These Indians didn't want to fight any more. The whites got pretty thick. A captain (Major Savage?) came up from below with a group of white people. They gathered the Indians down this side of Fresno River and took them down to this [east] side of Madera where they gave them something to eat, flour, beef, etc., made them fight no more.

648 The chief that brought the whites up was Savage. He took the Indians down and gave them food. [J.R. doesn't know how long he kept them down there.] He promised them, before he died, he would give them land up here where they lived, what land they liked. They would stay there and keep the land. It would be the Indians' own home. He would give them maybe a wagon and two horses, and a plow and a harrow, and harness. They could work the horses, plow, etc. But he got sick and died. He was buried right there.⁸³

He promised the Indians that, although maybe he would die, they would get these things after he died. He was going to give the Indians lots of money. But they didn't get it. Some white fellows found out. He [Savage] said to the Indians that all this land, California, belonged to the Indians. This was all written. A lot of judges have it written down that way now. But the Indians can't get it [the money] yet. They are giving the Indians a little pinch, out of the money belonging to the Indians.

About twenty years ago a lawyer got information from some whites. He heard that the Indians had this money down there, and got them to contribute to pay for his going down and fighting to get it for them. But he hasn't got it yet.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

Daily Round

512 People rose before sunrise summer and winter, said N.W. If there was no meat to eat -- sometimes there wasn't -- the men went out to catch a rabbit or whatever could be quickly got. On their return, the meat was cooked and eaten with acorn mush.

[252] All informants said that all members of a family present ate simultaneously at meals.

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⁸³Savage was killed by a white man in a personal quarrel (Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite, 285).

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439 the passes were again open. The Waksachi never
went east to trade; on rare occasions two or
three young men might go over to visit as a
kind of adventure. The Eastern Mono never came
to social functions, the Ghost Dance of 1870
[574] being the first contact of a social order.

The articles brought from the east to
trade were: rock salt; piñon nuts; mountain
sheep skins (diwe's.p); moccasins; a sleeveless
buckskin jacket sewn up the sides; leggings of
foxskin cured with the fur on, which were worn
tied above the ankles and just below the knees;
baskets; pine sticks for lifting hot cooking
stones; sinew-backed bows; unfinished obsidian
arrowheads. Payment was made in humana beads
and smaller beads, acorn meal, and fine Yokuts
baskets. In later days red beads and Spanish
blankets were wanted by the Eastern Mono.

When the Waksachi were encamped at Gaines
Flat, the Telamni, Gawia, and other valley
dwellers would come up to get stone mortars and
pestles. They asked the Waksachi to sell those
very things they were using; the Waksachi never
took any others along for trade. (Perhaps this
relieved them of the burden of carrying them
home on the upward journey, having had their
use of them.) B.O. here interposed a descrip-
[322] tion of the Telamni mortar, which was made from
the crotch of an oak tree. The Telamni also
wanted small stone mortars of the type used for
tobacco. While they wanted stone mortars for
themselves, they, in turn, sold their oakwood
mortars to the Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol of the
lake region.

Warfare

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726 B.O. stated that the Wechihit, Choinimni,
and Hoshima (Northerners in general) would come
over jointly to fight the allied Waksachi and
Wukchumni. These fights were rare and were
tactically simple; they were called una'na
pi'dikap. There were no special officers of
war, but certain brave men would be acknowl-
edged leaders on these occasions. The leader
stood back and directed the fighting while the
opposing warriors lined up, each man shooting
at the one directly opposite. Bows and arrows
were the only weapons; no spear or shield was
used. There was no waiting for a dream or omen
before going into conflict. The causes of
these hostile interludes are obscure.

W
Y
[177] Raiding for horses became a favorite ag-
gressive activity after their introduction by
the Spanish on the coast; they were available
in the valley in, roughly, 1800 and after.
Four or five men would go west to the valley
plains, and probably to the enemies mentioned
above, to steal a horse, which they would then
lead off, kill, cook, and eat. The Waksachi
never stole from the Wukchumni. There is a
[556] strong desire for horse ownership among these
people even at the present time, 1927.

The great variety of San Joaquin Valley game also made 4/1
useful the two-piece arrow. With only a few good arrow shafts, 224
a Yokuts could quickly attach a point to shoot squirrels, birds,
ducks or any kind of game he saw. There was another very
important reason for using the two-piece arrow, especially in
hunting large game, such as antelope, deer, elk, raccoon, wild
cat, fox, and mountain lion. Raccoon, wild cat and mountain
lion would fight the arrow with their paws. They would break
the arrow off, generally inside their bodies. Antelope, elk and
deer would do the same by rubbing against brush, trees, rocks,
or tules. Then the wound closed and much of the bleeding
stopped.

It was not often possible for a Yokuts hunter to kill large
game outright with a bow and arrow. The Yowlumne found it
necessary to follow antelope and deer for several hours, and
sometimes days, before they became helpless from bleeding. So
it was important to continue the initial bleeding as long as pos-
sible. When a wild cat or lion clawed at a foreshafted arrow
the long mainshaft immediately fell free, leaving the foreshaft
projecting from the wound. The Indian picked up the dis-
lodged mainshaft, replaced the point, and followed the wounded
animal.

The foreshaft was made of the toughest wood the Indians [824]
could secure, generally live oak, chamise, or wild lilac (ceano-
thus). It could not be broken easily and the barbs of the arrow
prevented its being removed by clawing, or by being rubbed
against brush, trees, rocks or tules. But the constant effort
to remove it by these means stimulated the flow of blood and
hastened the collapse of the injured animal.

The sinews attaching points to game foreshafts were [823]
water-proofed by a coating of asphaltum. Otherwise the blood
would soon soften the sinews, allowing the point to become
detached and the foreshaft to be drawn from the wound.

The sinews attaching points to war arrows were not water- 4/1
proofed. An Indian was more intelligent than the wounded 726 ●
animal. He could twist the foreshaft about and remove it, to-
gether with the stone point. For this reason the stone points
on war foreshafts were attached as loosely as possible and
the sinews were not waterproofed. As soon as they were wet
with blood the sinews loosened and allowed the point to remain
in the wound when the foreshaft was removed.